slopes of the Andes on the east. This area is characterized by many picturesquely rounded hills, no one of which rises very high above the level. Throughout much of the year one may see in the distance as many as eight snow-capped volcanic peaks on the southern horizon, among them the renowned Llaima and Villarica. One outstanding feature of this zone is the Cautín River Valley, and another is the valley of the Chol-chol. The Chol-chol River and its tributaries flow through much of the region which we study, and at Nueva Imperial the Chol-chol joins the main branch of the Cautín (Map 1).

Most of the trade contacts of Cautinchel, Carrerías, and Ranquil are with the Chilean community at Chol-chol, which can be reached by unimproved dirt roads. A considerable amount of traffic goes by oxcart in dry weather, but in the rainy winter months travel is limited to horseback. Many transactions also take place in Nueva Imperial, which is a much larger commercial center than Chol-chol. This city may be reached in the usual fashion, except for the need of crossing the Chol-chol River at Las Balsas (Map 1). A flat raft, pulled hand over hand along a steel cable by passengers and "crew" (Pl. V, Fig. 1), makes necessary crossings, except when the river is in flood. Nueva Imperial is situated on the branch line of a railroad that connects with the main line at Temuco, a thriving frontier city of more than 40,000 inhabitants, which is the capital of Cautín Province and is the largest business center in the territory under consideration. Indians from many neighboring reservations visit Temuco regularly, and in fair weather it can be reached from Chol-chol by horseback in four to five hours and by oxcart in less than a day. A few trucks and an occasional automobile travel between Chol-chol and Temuco with passengers and freight, when road conditions permit. In May, 1948, members of the Temuco flying club began to provide occasional air service to and from Chol-chol in a small, single-engined plane. A large crowd gathered on the town's soccer field (Pl. VI, Fig. 1) to watch the landing of the plane when Miss Dorothea Boyce, head of the Misión Araucana's hospital, became the first passenger to fly out of Chol-chol. Thereafter, for the few who could avail themselves of the service, Chol-chol became only fifteen

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

One other case that is somewhat irregular because it involves an instance of matrilocal residence deserves mention. Santiago Huircan, owner of House No. 6, is only distantly related to Cautinche's founder. He was born in Catrimalal and lived there until about 1938. At that time his wife, who is the daughter of Juan Antinao's brother, inherited some eighteen hectares at Cautinche. Thereupon, the couple moved to Cautinche and Santiago began to farm on his wife's land. There is no feeling of strangeness towards this family, and they have been completely accepted by the Cautinche community.

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF CARRARRIÑE

Like Cautinche, Carrarriñe lies between Chile's coastal ranges and the Andes, and its topography also is featured by gently sloping hills. Here the major drainage is provided by the Cholchol River, which runs close by the eastern boundary of the reservation. Several streamlets flow across the area, and in the rainy season the low-lying lands are often flooded. There are many indications of aboriginally dense forest cover, but the region is currently bare of trees except where groves of eucalyptus or apple orchards have recently been planted (Frontispiece). Unimproved dirt roads connect Carrarriñe with Nueva Imperial and Cholchol.

Carrarriñe is a much larger reduction than is Cautinche. It contains 1,438 hectares, officially known as parcel or *hijuela* 54 (see Fig. 7). Title to this land is in the name of Antonio Painemal, who is accordingly the nominal chief. Two adjacent reservations, Picuta and Tromenguelo (Figs. 7, 8), are so closely linked with Carrarriñe that all three may be regarded as comprising a kind of "Greater Carrarriñe."[9] It was not possible to ascertain the true nature of the relationships that exist among the three districts, but it appears likely that division occurred at one time or another when reservation boundaries and land titles were being regularized. A former Carrarriñe man, Mulato Chihuaihuen, is said to have set himself up as an independent

[9] That part of Coigue which is shown on Figure 7 is also said by some informants to be part of "Greater Carrarriñe."

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF RENACO

Renaco, a small reduction of 275 hectares, lies about four kilometers northeast of Cholchol. Title is held by the *loñko*, Fermín Nahuelhual. The terrain falls into two divisions, a hilly section that is part of the eastern foothills of the Nahuelbuta coastal range, and a flat meadow-like area which is drained by the Renaco stream that enters the Cholchol River at Cholchol. Since there are only nine houses, with a populace of fifty-six, it might seem that there is enough land for all, but much of the hilly ground is unsuited for growing wheat, and the lowland receives too much moisture to yield good crops.

Renaco was settled, probably in 1825, by Araucanians who had crossed the Andes from Argentina. The first family to arrive was that of Collío Huenchual, from whom the present chief is descended. All the householders now living on the reservation are members of a single large family. Three men have built homes in the hilly section (Fig. 9, Nos. 2, 4, 5), and the others are spread over the meadow, with the leader's house (Fig. 9, No. 1) more or less centrally located. As long ago as 1885 a traveler described Renaco as having six to eight houses, "forming the only approach to anything like a village that we met in the whole country."[11]

In 1948 the Misión Araucana established a school that is taught by a young man, Antonio, eldest son of Segundo Huenchual (Fig. 9, No. 2). The teacher claims to have a gross enrollment of fifty pupils, with an average attendance of thirty nine.[12] One room of a utility building next to Segundo Huenchual's dwelling serves as the sole classroom.

At Renaco the hockey field and the ritual ground are distinct (see Fig. 9). There is no resident *machi* at present, although it was claimed that a male *machi* named José Teuque once lived on the reservation. Despite the presence of a ceremonial area, no *ñillatun* has been held at Renaco for more than ten years.

[11] Smith, 1855, p. 285.

[12] This figure may well be too high. See footnote 7 of this chapter.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

THE ARAUCANIANS

By JOHN M. COOPER

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT[1]

131 Middle Chile, the earlier habitat of the *Araucanians*, extends from lat. 30° to 43° S. and falls into two divisions, northern Middle Chile, 30° to 37°, and southern Middle Chile, 37° to 43°, which correspond fairly closely to the accepted tribal division of the Chilean *Araucanians* into the *Picunche*, and the *Mapuche-Huilliche* (map 1, *No. 17*; map 5). To the east runs the Andean Cordillera, reaching an average altitude of about 15,000 to 20,000 feet (5,000 to 6,000 m.) through much of its length, and toward the ocean the coastal range, averaging about 1,000 feet (300 m.) in altitude with a maximum of around 7,000 feet (2,300 m.). Between the two ranges lies the great Central Valley, extending with few breaks the whole length of Middle Chile. There are many passes through the Andes. Those most used in Colonial days were the high-altitude Uspallata pass to Mendoza and the low-altitude one east of Villarica. Snowfall is unusual in the Central Valley, but is abundant in the Cordillera.

[101] [133] 132

In northern Middle Chile, the *Picunche* country, north of the Bío-Bío River, precipitation is light, with a Mediterranean climate, of rains in the winter and drought in the summer. From the southern limits of the desert proper at Coquimbo to the Bío-Bío River, precipitation gradually increases. Vegetation is dry forest, of the chaparral type, with acacias and laurels typical.

137 [132] In southern Middle Chile, the *Mapuche* and *Huilliche* country, precipitation is heavy, and occurs throughout the year. The dense temperate rain forest begins rather abruptly at the Bío-Bío and extends with only local breaks throughout the area, with a markedly humid climate. Typical trees are deciduous and evergreen beeches (*Notofagus obliqua* and *N. dombeyi*, respectively), and cypress (*Libo-*

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[1] Since certain *Araucanian* subtribal names, such as *Huilliche*, *Pehuenche*, etc., are so well established in anthropological usage that change of customary spelling would look strange, and since most of our sources give only imperfect information on the exact pronunciation of native *Araucanian* words, especially of the vowels, it has not proved feasible or advisable to adopt a uniform system of transcription throughout the present paper. The chief phonetic equivalents used herein are: *ch*, as Spanish *ch*; *hu* before *a*, *e*, and *i*, as English *w*; *gu* before *e* and *i*, as *k*; *c*, as *k*; *ll* and *ñ*, the *ly* and *ny* sounds respectively, as in Spanish; *ŋ*, as *ng* in English *ring*; *ü*, close to labialized French *u*.

In scientific identifications of native plants and animals, the writer has in most cases followed Lenz (1904-10), Félix José da Augusta (1916), Gusinde (1936), and Moesbach (1936).

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

lera between lat. 37° and 40° S., was the first to be *Araucanized.* This process must have begun in the middle of the 17th century, as we can clearly see from the records of a famous criminal trial held in Mendoza in 1658. On this occasion, some captured *Pehuenche* who testified under oath, spoke only their own language and had no knowledge of *Araucanian*, but the names of some chiefs and certain cultural elements were already characteristic of the *Araucanians.* This elemental process of *Auracanization* must have terminated toward the end of the same century, for according to the 18th-century documents, the *Pehuenche* already spoke the *Araucanian* language. Jerónimo Pietas (1846), e. g., attests this in his "Costumbres de los Araucanos."

The *Araucanians* were led to influence the people of the Cordillera and later of the eastern plains as a result of their war against the conquistadors. From the beginning, the Indians of Chile adopted Spanish war tactics and equipment, especially the horse. To procure horses, which were so important to warfare, they went to the plains of Argentina, which were densely inhabited by these quadrupeds. After the Spaniards abandoned the original Buenos Aires in 1541, they left horses, which multiplied so rapidly in this favorable environment with its abundant herbaceous plains that during the 17th and 18th centuries there were hundreds of thousands of horses in wild herds.

During this period, culture exchange among the indigenous population was intensified: The *Pampa*, or pre-*Araucanian* inhabitants of the plains, gave horses; the *Araucanians*, or inhabitants of Chile, gave textiles and other elements of a higher culture. The *Pehuenche*, who lived amid both, were the intermediaries.

Other geographic factors also facilitated cultural exchange. The Andes in the region of the Araucaria pine, domain of the *Pehuenche*, are relatively low with numerous passes which are open throughout the year. Moreover, the Chilean region opposite the *Pehuenche* habitat had the greatest concentration of *Araucanians* engaged in war; the latter frequently took refuge in the Cordillera. Finally, the territories east of *Pehuenche* were never occupied by the Spaniards, thus leaving the mountaineers free to move at will.

All these reasons brought the continuous *Araucanian* infiltrations first to the *Pehuenche*. Once this people was *Araucanized*, the great expansion on the eastern side of the mountain range began. Its base was the *Pehuenche* region or western part of Neuquén, from which it extended toward the north and the east, gradually occupying the greater part of the Argentine central plain and bordering regions.

The first expansion of the now-*Araucanized Pehuenche* was to the north, and it invaded the southern part of the present Province of Mendoza. This region had been the ancient domain of the *Puelche* de Cuyo, the second of the three previously mentioned non-*Araucanian*

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

114 ical material for the reconstruction of Araucanian social organization. However, it is generally agreed that the data do not afford a very clear picture of earlier Araucanian social forms or their development, the primary subject of this paper.

Soon after Murdock voiced wonder at the apparent absence of the Omaha kinship system in South America, Hallowell had the opportunity to interview a Mapuche informant, Martin Collío, and tentatively concluded that the

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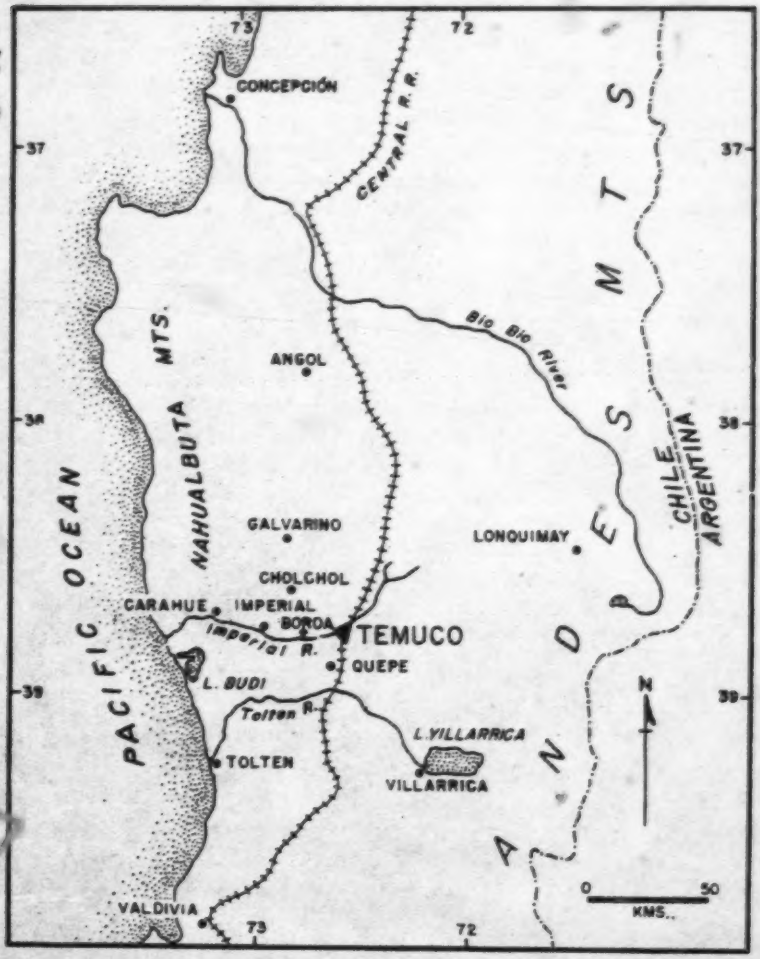

Map of Southern Middle Chile.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

175 they now believed him—they saw his wounds and believed that he had talked to his people, and they let him go home. José Martín did not return for some time. When he did he came home on a Chilean boat and disembarked at Chan Chan. He brought with him many gifts from the Chileans for the now sick cacique, Andrés, among them rice and sugar—Andrés Lienlaf was the first Mapuche here to eat rice and sugar. After Andrés had completely recovered, he again went to Valdivia and spoke to the Colonel. As a reward for establishing peace among his people, the Colonel gave him a cane topped with a crook of silver. The cane is still at Pedro Martín's, but it does not look like the same cane; it was damaged in a fire and repaired by a silversmith. Later the Colonel came here to sign the peace with the cacique, Andrés. He disembarked at Chan Chan with 1,500 soldiers. When we saw him lead these soldiers on to our land, our people fled and hid; they thought that now their homes would be burned and they themselves exterminated. The women wailed. But this ended the wars. That is how the Mapuche in this area saved themselves from annihilation.

131 The territory occupied by the Araucanians (in what is now Chile) 174 when the Spanish first entered it probably extended from the Andean uplands to the Pacific and from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to the river Choapa, or still farther north. Cooper's sources place them between latitude 30° and 43° S. (1946, p. 687). At present the Araucanians are found mainly in the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia, with the largest number between latitude 39° and 40° S.

133 In the western part of these two provinces, on the Pacific, is the Coastal Range. Its altitude averages 1,000 feet, with a maximum of 1,600 feet. In the eastern part is the Andean Cordillera. Between these two mountain systems lies the great Central Valley. The rivers Imperial, Toltén, Mehuin, Crucis, and Calle-Calle and their tributaries drain the area from east to west across the valley. The main pass over the Andes in the Araucanian country, the old Tromen Pass, is by way of Villarrica and Pucón in Chile to Junín de los Andes in Argentina. In the low altitudes of the Andes in the Araucanian country are the beautiful lakes of Colico, Villarrica, Cahuegua, Calafquén, Pelaifa, Panguipulli, Riñihue, and Pirehueico. From nearly all parts of the provinces snow-capped ridges of the Andean ranges can be seen, as well as the volcanoes Llaima (10,040 feet), Villarrica (9,317 feet), Quetropillán (7,740 feet), Shoshuenco (7,740 feet), and Lanín (12,270 feet). Lanín is just beyond the boundary in Argentina.

132 The climate of the region is affected by strong east winds, known as puelches, and by the Humboldt Current of the Pacific moving northward along the shore. Except in high altitudes there is no snowfall; the winter season is a rainy one.

161 Based on estimates, the Araucanians may have numbered from 500,000 to three times that when the Spaniards first met them. How many there are at present is not accurately known; Chilean au-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

262 In Alepúe area, also, a pregnant woman must not eat apples, honey,
843 or chili; not at any time are she and her husband to eat the double
184 yolk of an egg, for "it will make them the parents of twins." Coñaripe informants were interested and amazed to know that Araucanians in Alepúe area had the above beliefs. "We have no such beliefs here and I have no faith in them," said one. "I know, for instance, that I have eaten two yolks of one egg, and so has my husband, and we have no twins."

843 A pregnant woman must not look about too much, for she may happen to see something that will frighten her and may cause her to have an abortion or a premature delivery. An expectant mother will have a difficult delivery if she lifts the cover off a boiling kettle or places it on one. The unborn child will adhere to her uterus. She may, however, put prepared food into a kettle of boiling water and also stir boiling food. If no one else is around, she will ask even a small child to lift or replace the cover. She will also have a difficult delivery if she sits on anything made of wood, such as a bench, chair, or log—her child's head will grow out of proportion if she does. According to Cooper's sources she must not stand on the threshold of the ruka (1946, p. 732).

CHILDBIRTH, AND CARE OF MOTHER AND NEWBORN BABY

PLACE OF BIRTH, ATTENDANTS, PERSONS PRESENT, PROCEDURE, CELEBRATION, FUMIGATION, RECORDING THE BIRTH

844 Birth is spoken of as "to have a baby" or "to have a new baby." Both Araucanian and non-Araucanian informants were certain that the child was always born in the home ruka and not in a temporary shelter. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 732), the woman retired to a temporary shelter near a stream or the sea when labor pains began; to give birth within the family ruka was thought to bring evil upon those who lived there.

Persons present at a birth are the woman's husband and children

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PLATE 1

Views of Araucanian country in Chile

133 241 797 1, Alepúe area: Burnt-over lands, plowed field at right, ruka with adjoining fenced-in garden and nearby fenced-in potato patch, grazing land, and wheat field; Río Mehuin and its valley in the distance, and the Pacific Ocean beyond. 2, Coñaripe area: Pasturelands of an Araucanian in the foreground, Catholic mission buildings in the distance, and the Andes in the background. 3, Panguipulli area, the western end of Lago Panguipulli in the Andes: Pastureland in the foreground, Catholic mission, wheat fields on the hill at the right, and Volcano Shoshuenco in the distance. 4, Boroa area, looking north toward Río Cautín: Pasturelands, plowed hills, and river bottom.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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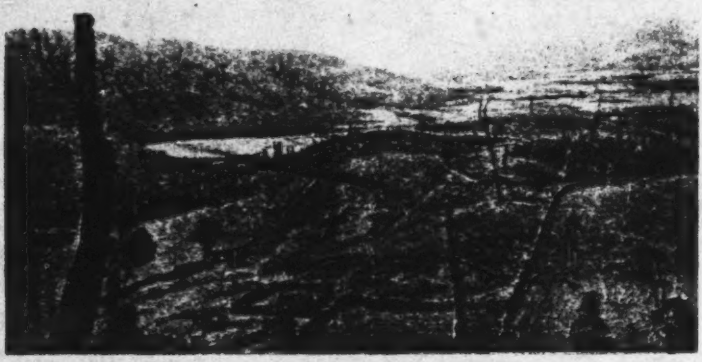

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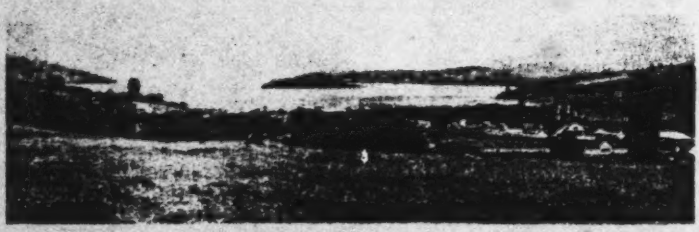

(See legend on opposite page.)

[p. 12 (A)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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Alepée schoolchildren: 1, Boys on their way home from school. (Note burnt-over land, now being used as pastureland. 2, Girls on their way home from school. (The clearing in the middle background is now a wheatfield). 3, Lunch time at school. (Note garden fence of logs.)

[D.28(C)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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A dwelling, children, and view of Trumpul area: 1, A 1-room dwelling of adobe-plastered walls and thatched roof. Smoke is emitted at gable ends; light is admitted through opening in roof seen covered with boards. (Malleo.) 2, Schoolboy feeding his sick cat. (Notice his hairline and his Mongolian eyelids.) (Quilaquina.) 3, Playing with sticks and romping in the meadow (Trumpul). 4, Mountain slopes on Lago Lacar inhabited by Araucanians (Trumpul). Cleared areas are wheat fields.

[p.268(D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 197
SG4 Aaucanians SG4
Argentina

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1, Wooden plow (Trumpul). 2, Oxcart with tree-trunk section wheels (Quilaquina). 3, A lila (fenced-in area) in which wheat is threshed by tramping horses (Malleo).

[p. 364(C)]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

A 101

in their language means "people of the land." They are and have long been agriculturalists. They are the only numerous indigenous society in Chile and, although their numbers are dwarfed by the millions of Quechua and Aymara Indians of the central Andes, they constitute one of the largest functioning Indian societies in South America.

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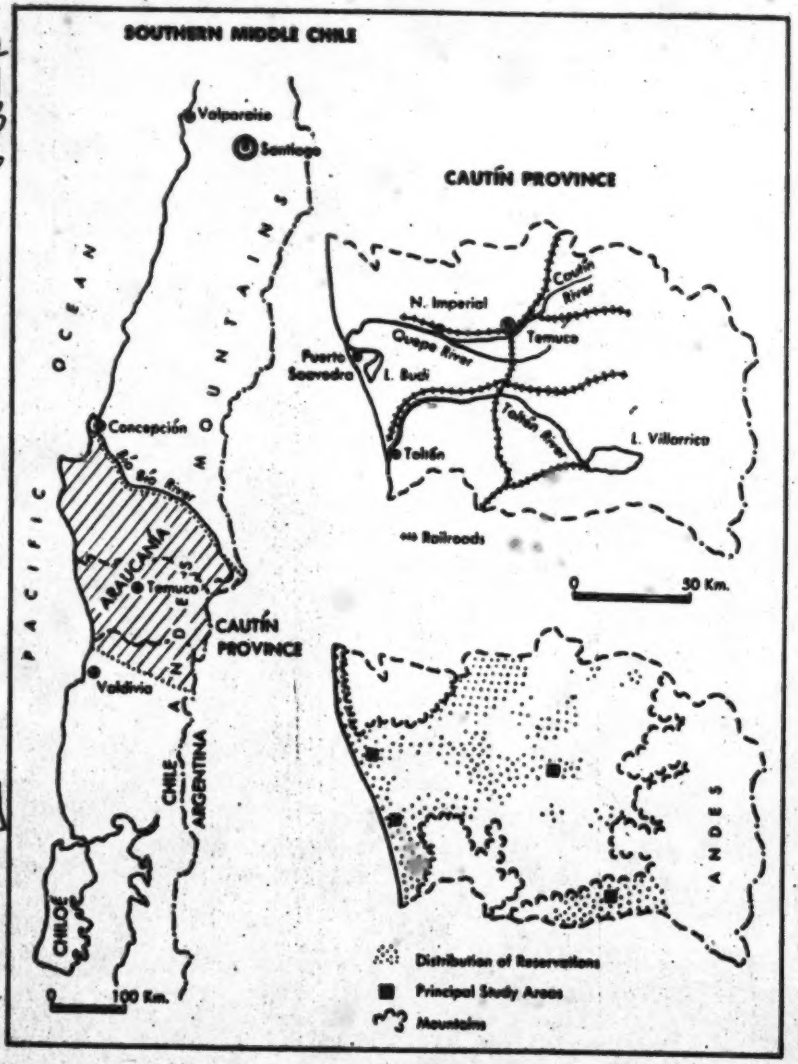


MAP I

[114]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The Mapuche-occupied area of the Frontera is roughly that of the state of Delaware and covers several political provinces and three major geographical zones. The latter are generally referred to as the coastal range and narrow coastal plain, the Central Valley, and the Andean foothills and interior valleys. There was once a dense evergreen forest covering the greater part of central Chile, but today the larger stands of timber are found mostly in the Andes and the coastal mountains, the Central Valley having been cleared of trees in the process of agricultural expansion and town building. This is the ancestral heartland of Mapuche territory. It is still undergoing colonization by white settlers.

The Andes are the most impressive topographical feature in the area, rising well above 15,000 feet, with numerous towering volcanoes. Snow-covered the year round, these volcanoes occasionally erupt and cause great damage to settlements in the surrounding country, as a consequence of which there is always heightened ceremonial activity among the Mapuche. The several low passes south of Villarrica and one near Lonquimay are used by migrant workers and tourists going to Argentina and back, but they are almost impassable in winter. In the high Andes agriculture is not possible, but it is practiced in the foothills. The more precipitous terrain is used for pasturing sheep, cattle, and horses.

The coastal range, which has an average altitude of only 1,000 feet, although reaching 7,000 feet in places, is relatively unproductive in terms of Mapuche economy. Its stands of timber are exploited mainly by Chileans. Mapuche graze some cattle along the mountain slopes, but most of the area is not inhabited by Indians. There are a few colonies of small freeholders, *colonos* and *parceleros*, and some extensive haciendas or *fundos* found in the mountainous belt along the coast.

In many places the coastal range approaches the shore line, but there is a narrow coastal strip occupied by small numbers of Mapuche. Most of the coastal area is too wet for successful wheat production and is given over to potatoes, barley, linseed, and other crops which grow in very moist soil. Wheat and oats are grown in limited amounts in favorable places. Fairly ample natural pasturage supports a large number of cattle.

The Central Valley, lying between the Andes and the coastal range, provides some of the best wheatland in Chile. The soil in most of the valley is rich, composed of glacial deposits and volcanic ash. There

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

are large level sections, but the uniformity is broken by numerous hills and spurs emanating from the Andes and the coastal mountains, especially along the southern border of Cautín Province where the two ranges abut in a narrow pass through which the central railroad runs.

The climate of this part of Chile is characterized by cool, dry summers and abundant winter rainfall. Precipitation in Cautín Province averages more than 80 inches a year, reaching more than 100 inches in the Andes and falling below 80 in parts of the Central Valley which lie in the rain shadow of the coastal range. The average temperature is about 65 degrees Fahrenheit in the warmest month and about 50 degrees in the coldest, indicating no great range of variation throughout the year. Temperature ranges are conditioned both by altitude and proximity to the Pacific Ocean. Winter snows occur in the Andes and their foothills, while freezing temperatures are rare in the Central Valley and along the coast.

The bulk of the population, both Mapuche and Chilean, is found in the Central Valley. It is here that most of the Chilean cities and towns are situated. While the largest number of reservations are found in this sector of Araucanía, it is also in this region that the greatest displacement of Indians has occurred. Mapuche territory has shrunk as a consequence of its importance in the forceful control of the fighting Mapuche throughout the colonial era as well as a result of its importance in the agricultural expansion of the colonizing society after the defeat and pacification of the Mapuche in the early 1880's.

Temuco, whose population was more than 50,000 in 1958, is the capital of Cautín Province and the largest commercial and industrial center in the Frontera. It is the hub of highway and railroad transportation, the center of regional political activity, and has many schools, several hospitals, banks, industries (flour, wool, and lumber-processing plants), government railroad shops, and many retail stores.

The main railroad line runs through Temuco from north to south and has several trunks branching east and west through a number of small towns which serve as centers for shipping local produce. These towns range in size from a little more than 5,000 persons (e.g. Villarrica, Nueva Imperial) to 1,000 or less. Some of them are centers for local fairs at which animals are selected for shipment to Temuco and the cities of northern Chile. Near the Andes and the coastal mountains they also serve as repositories for timber, which is brought

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

from the forests by oxcart and truck to be cured at railroad sidings before shipment to Temuco and beyond.

Lakes Villarrica and Budi are the largest bodies of water in the province. Lake Budi is saline. Both lakes are fished commercially, mostly by Chileans. Two major river systems – the Cautín-Imperial in the northern part of the province and the Toltén in the south – cut across Cautín Province from east to west. Along these rivers are all-weather roads, spur lines from the central railroad, and towns.

Mapuche territory was first reduced through force of arms, after many unsuccessful attempts, and, after pacification, has been reallocated through the force of political action. Some of the important steps in this process are clearly revealed in documented history. I would like to indicate a few of these in a general historical statement about Mapuche society.

HIGHLIGHTS IN THE HISTORICAL RECORD

The earliest reports about the Mapuche are found in Peruvian chronicles, as a result of Inca interest in colonizing central Chile and Peruvian-based Spanish attempts to succeed where the Inca had failed. But well-documented Mapuche history begins only after the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Spaniards had constructed garrison settlements in Chile and came into sustained contact with the Indians south of the Bío Bío River. The Spaniards quickly defeated the sparse Picunche (northern Araucanian) population and absorbed them into the sphere of colonial society which radiated from Santiago. Within the first century of colonization the Picunche had ceased to exist as a distinct social or ethnic entity.[2]

When the Spaniards attempted to extend their control over the Mapuche, they met with initial success. Vast encomiendas were granted to deserving conquistadores, and placer mines around Concepción, Imperial, and Villarrica were worked for gold by Indian labor. The rigors of encomienda life were such that in 1562, after a number of local skirmishes, the Mapuche staged their first general uprising and drove the Spaniards to the periphery of their territory. For more than 200 years afterward the Mapuche were considered fair game for puni-

[2] Details of colonization in the jurisdiction of Santiago, involving a consideration of the systems of *encomienda*, *mita*, *reducción*, and *corregimiento*, are synthesized in Faron, 1960:299–307.

Ill:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

farmer is concerned, this amounts to a rotation of fields by reservation. Various arrangements are worked out for the distribution of the harvests or other gain from these distant holdings with the relatives involved. For example, if a man has inherited some land on his mother's natal reservation which is quite distant from his own, say a day's travel, he will not ordinarily use his own animals and plow, or even his own seed, in preparing and planting these fields. His maternal relatives will assist him and will generally obtain half of the harvest for their trouble. But these are atypical arrangements.

Except for reservations situated on the most favorable agricultural lands in the Central Valley, there is generally a good deal of variation in quality of land within any reservation, as well as regional differences between reservations. Land might be classified in three ways: *altura*, the driest and best for wheat cultivation; *baja*, low and moist, not well suited for wheat but good for barley and potatoes; and *vega*, swampy ground of little agricultural value, except for occasional plantings of potatoes in drier years. *Vega* is generally used for pasture. These differences may be found on most reservations but, on balance, they may also serve to differentiate one reservation from another. One reservation, for example Alonqueo, may be largely *altura*, whereas another, say Llancaman or Maripan, may have large sections of *vega*. In the sub-Andean region one encounters much hilly land, dry but too precipitous even for the use of ox-drawn plows, and many low and poorly drained areas which are, however, occasionally planted in potatoes.

Reservation Alonqueo: Roble Huacho Region

Most of the 513 hectares of Alonqueo is utilized for cereal crops and *chacarería* (vegetables, both field and garden crops), there being little woodland or marshy wastes. Substandard land is cultivated, nevertheless, and the quality of family holdings varies somewhat. According to the general practice on reservations in the region an attempt is made to allow about two-thirds of the agricultural land to rest after each harvest, provided sufficient crops can be taken from the remaining third or another arrangement can be made to work additional land. During this fallow period fields are customarily grazed by oxen, cows, horses, and sheep and are ranged over by fowl and pigs. They are not planted in grass or soil-restorative plants.

A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

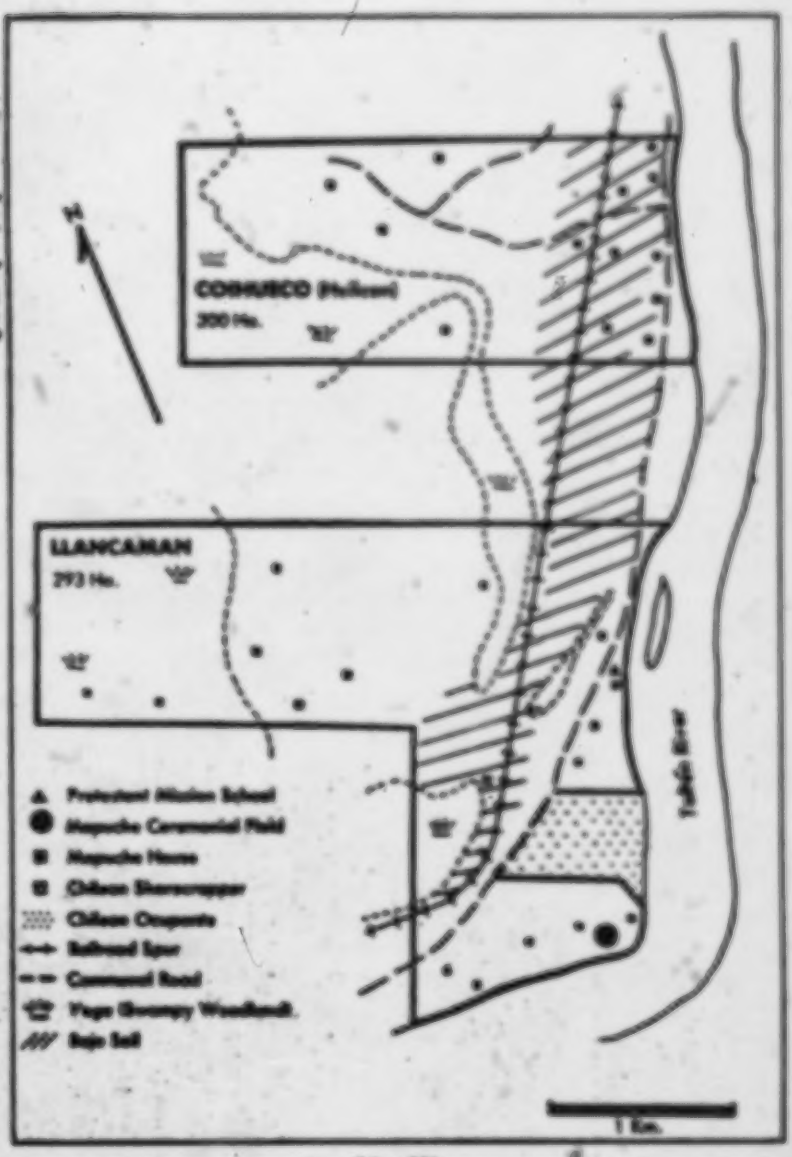
A good part of the
311 land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded
313 with oak trees (*robles*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed
[241] was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation. Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet construction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was founded in 1881. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *par-*
[439] *celeros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche
[314] still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of charcoal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local resource.

Up until 1948 large parts of the region were covered by a thick growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautín Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land was thereby cleared for agriculture.

311 The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast
[137] sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this cen-
[241] tury (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic and infrequent, occurring mostly on the substandard land — the hillsides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Val-
[233] ley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along
[133] the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or other-
[423] wise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found. The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

[133] Alonqueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho re-
[134] gion, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil
[242] erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem
[433] which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and


CORRUCO (Pichicuni)
200 Hs.
LLANCAMAN
293 Hs.
Protestant Mission School
Mapuche Ceremonial Field
Mapuche Houses
Chilean Storekeeper
Chilean Outposts
Railroad Spur
Communal Road
Virgin Swampy Woodlands
Virgin Soil
Tolten River
1 Km.

MAP III

[4.56]

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

and hire skilled labor to operate it. Another reason is that, by and large, the local Chilean farmers would prefer to see the Mapuche lose rather than improve their land.

The notion of private ownership of land seems less strongly developed on Llancaman and some of the other reservations in the Pelehue region than in Roble Huacho. Pelehue Indians had some difficulty estimating the amount of land they farmed, although they knew how much had been "apportioned" to each of the original radicados at the time the reservation was established. They spoke of "having" so-and-so many hectares and "occupying" so-and-so many additional hectares. The latter they had cleared and put under cultivation, but they did not speak of it as their private property in the way the people of the Roble Huacho region did. Inhabitants of Alonquen, for example, not only are able to state just how many hectares they "own" themselves, but are also able to give the exact amount in the hands of the other residents.

The existence of common land permits individuals to accumulate as many animals as they are able, since there is adequate grazing land by Mapuche standards. Half-sharing in animals (see pp. 58-60 for a clarification of the half-share system) is common in the Pelehue region. There is a shortage of good-quality pasture, but there are no restrictions on using what is available. There is little or no concern with overgrazing, since many low pastures remain green throughout the year. According to Mapuche estimates, a cow or ox needs about five hectares of grazing land, a horse somewhat more than this, and a sheep less.

Reservation Huilcun: Pelehue Region

Huilcun is separated from Llancaman by a Chilean *potrero* owned and operated by a family of white farmers. The land of both Llancaman and Huilcun is approximately of the same quality, being divided among *vega* (swamp), *baja* (lowland), and *litwen* (high and relatively dry land). Huilcun has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are under cultivation. More than one-third of the reservation is uncleared land or *vega*, some of which could be cleared, drained, and otherwise improved to support both farming and grazing. Part of the woodland is being exploited by local residents for the manufacture of charcoal, with the approval of the chief.

As on Llancaman and the general region around Toltén, there is greater emphasis on rotation of crops than fields, as compared with

D:\Farm E-5 (1952-1954)\961 SG4 Araucanians SG4 Mapuche

distribution of farmland, cattle, and so forth, the reader may consult Chart 3 in Appendix B. There is an equitable apportionment of land. Again, as was noted for Llaneantun, there is the notion that unoccupied many hectares are "held" and recorded as many "occupied," the latter having been cleared and put into crops. *Division* is desired by not more than two or three inhabitants -- people who want to sell their land and move off the reservation. The people rather solidly support their chief, largely because he is an important ritual leader, although it is recognized that he is ineffectual in obtaining help from the government. Most people put their hope of dealing successfully with the Chilean government in the chief of Llaneantun, who has recently become a minor government official.

Reservation M. Nahuelpan: Lumaniko (Andean) Region

Although Nahuelpan was actually divided into seventy holdings in 1938, it is still carried on the records as a reservation *undivided*, since the inhabitants do not yet have completely free disposal rights over their land. At the time of division several hectares of original reservation land were ceded to a Chilean who had farmed and lived on a section of the reservation for many years. This Chilean was accorded exclusive status by the Chilean government, which carries the right to remain on the land with full ownership rights. There are potential exclusives on a number of Mapuche reservations, who at the time of division will be entitled to legal claim on whatever land they have improved.

The divided reservation consists of 77 individuals, the same number of residents as at the time of radicación. Of the original number, however, 11 were no longer represented on the land at the time of division. In addition, two families have since sold out to Chileans. The total number of households at the time of radicación was three, today it is eight, indicating the same tendency toward uxorilocality and fragmentation of holdings seen on other reservations. Absenteeism is quite high.

The quality of much of the farmland on Nahuelpan is "marginal." There being few well-drained fields, most of the land lying on fairly precipitous hillsides or in swampy sectors at the base of the hills. However, the soil seems more productive than in many sections of the Central Valley. Fields are planted for two years, wheat preceding corn, and allowed to rest for the third and sometimes the fourth year. Potatoes are grown in successive years in the swampy bottom lands.

[LAND OWNERSHIP MAPUCHE--ARAUCO]

Ec Farm E-9 (1952-1954)1961 SC4 Arauco Indians SC4
Mapuche

[p. 234]

Appendix B

Distribution of Population, Land, and Animals on Three Reservations

Most of the 313 hectares of reservation Alonquen are utilized for field crops and chacarería, there being little woodland and little wasteland unsuitable for farming. According to the general practice in the region, about two-thirds of the agricultural land is allowed to lie fallow each year, and during this time is customarily used to pasture oxen, cows, horses, and sheep.

In the accompanying chart, the number of hectares of land are given by household (as numbered on Map II and Diagram I), the number of adults and minors in each house are listed, and the number of animals per household are cited.

Reservation Llancanao has 299 hectares, of which 181 are farmed, 90 are used for common pasturage, and the rest made up of the communal roads and land set aside for the railroad spur which runs through the land.

On reservation Llancanao the residents are "not very sure" how much land they "own" or the amount of land other families "own." It is occasionally the case for a man to say he "owns" so-and-so many hectares but owns so-and-so many more. This is due to a knowledge of the amount of land granted on the average to the original radicados, about five hectares each. Since the days of the radicación, families have opened new land for farming, but they rarely claim title to this.

Reservation Llancanao differs topographically and in soil types from reservation Alonquen, insofar as land is classified as alcoso (high, dry, and good for wheat), bajo (lower, more moist, best for barley, but also used for wheat and pasture), and vega (swampland used part of the year for pasture). Although these distinctions may be made on reservation Alonquen, most of the land there is alcoso, that which is not being negligible.

The outstanding difference in land utilization on the two reservations is

[illegible]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

311 that there is still much unfarmed land on Llancaman which is held in common pasture.

Reservation Huilcan lies just to the north of Llancaman. It has an area [133] of 200 hectares, only 75 of which are under cultivation. The topography and soil types are similar to those of Llançaman.

[Reservation Llancaman]

CHART 2

HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented			
Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
3	4	(0)	7	15	20	18	4	10C	6M	0	0	0	x	x
3	7	(1)	10	7	6	4	2	2C	3M	0	0	6M	x	
1	4	(0)	5	20	20	6	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	x
2	1	(1)	3	17	30	6	3	5M	0	0	0	3M	x	x
1	1	(1)	2	10	25	11	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	4	(0)	7	6	20	8	3	6M	0	0	0	0	x	
2	1	(3)	3	10	?	?	1	0	0	0	?	?		?
3	1	(3)	4	10	25	4	1	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	3	(2)	6	11	30	9	2	5C	2M	2C	0	0	x	
2	0	(0)	2	14	30	13	2	5M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
2	1	(2)	3	5	0	0	1	2M	0	0	0	20C	x	x
2	6	(0)	8	2	20	10	2	2C	0	0	0	0		x
2	1	(2)	3	8	0	0	1	8C	0	0	0	12C		x
2	6	(1)	8	8	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	24C		x
3	2	(0)	5	11	8	2	1	5C	0	0	0	4M		x
2	4	(0)	6	8	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	2M		x
Absent			0	13	0	0	0	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
Absent			0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5C	0	0		x
Absent			0	7	0	0	0	2M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
Totals														
38	56	(19)	82	181	294	98	37	80	11	17		71		

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T A 439

was late and disturbances might occur, he considered it would be better not to allow any liquor to be sold until the following day, when all arms might be stored in a safe place, and anybody who felt disposed to get drunk might do so with comfort. To this Casimiro agreed, further assuring me, in the most positive manner, that *he* would keep sober. Whilst we were sitting by the fireside, a bird, exactly resembling our well-known nightjar, flew over our heads, uttering its peculiar grating cry; the Indians all looked startled, asserting that it was a sign of ill luck, and that whenever this bird croaked in the vicinity of an assembly of people some one was sure to fall sick or die. Their superstitious belief in the ill-omened bird received a confirmation, for in the middle of the night, while asleep by the fire, I was roused by Graviel, who, shaking my arm and shouting 'Let us go, let us go!' rushed away from the firelight into the dark night. His father and myself followed him, and after a long chase caught and, with difficulty, mastered him. He was raving mad, struggling violently, and vociferating incoherent nonsense. When the fit had passed off, his exhaustion and prostration were so great that all thought he would die; but he recovered for the time.

T A 787 825
T [158]

At break of day we were all on the alert; and as the evening previously we had been too tired and hungry to observe the scenery, I proceeded to reconnoitre the locality generally. To my great surprise, the head-quarters of Chocoque consisted but of four toldos, belonging to the chief and his brother-in-law, the men who had received us having come from distant residences unaccompanied by their wives, and bivouacking, like ourselves, in the open air. The scene of the encampment was a valley running east and west, the western end being apparently shut in by some high mountains, spurs of the Cordillera. A good stream watered this valley, which was everywhere more or less wooded: away to the north-west, about four miles distant, the apple-groves might be seen; these trees had, however, already been

A 361
T A 133 137

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

stripped of fruit, and it was necessary to proceed much farther to the north to procure any; but an expedition to visit that district and to get fruit, planned by Orkeke, Hinchel, myself, and others, proved impracticable. Beyond the apple-groves the place was also pointed out where the araucarias grow, from which the piñones are gathered, just below the snow-clad mountains we had viewed from the ridge above the Rio Limay, and about thirty miles distant.

In our valley the pasture was rather scanty, although there appeared to be sufficient for the three flocks of small sheep, each owned by one of Cheoeque's wives, to get into good condition; but sheep will feed anywhere. Immediately behind the toldos was situated a corral for enclosing cattle, none of which, however, were visible, having, probably, been driven off to some secluded valley near at hand, to avoid giving our people a chance of helping themselves. Round this corral were grouped the Indians of Cheoeque's tribe, and the Picunches with fruit, &c., to barter; and between the corral and the river lay the bivouac of the Tehuelches; our fireside being denoted by Casimiro's flag, the colours of the Argentine Confederation. Up and down the valley, and even about the neighbouring hills, were scattered our horses.

Proceeding to inspect the toldos, at which I had given but a cursory glance the night before, I found that they were all fixed dwellings; that is to say, not put together so as to be moved in marches, like those of the Patagonians. They were, indeed, constructed in the same manner, but the poles were much stouter, and the whole edifice more resembled a house.

Cheoeque's toldo was quite sixteen feet high, and able to accommodate forty men; while three fires of huge billets of wood burned in the front part. It was closed in completely, except a doorway in the corner with a skin curtain by way of door; and along the front ran a species of verandah, composed of interwoven branches, forming a pleasant canopy, under the shade of which we sat and

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4
Picunches

619 occasion some fighting ensued. Thereupon Foyel sent
[579] Cheoeque a defiant message to the effect that if any more robberies by his subjects took place, he should make reprisals; that the latter chief must have imagined that he (Foyel) had
619 forgotten how to ride and use his lance. All this was sub-
578 sequently amicably settled, but in the end Foyel, who was by right under the rule of Cheoeque, preferred to throw off his allegiance and retire across the Rio Limay. The chief reason
[648] alleged by him was that although Cheoeque received large rations of cattle from the Buenos Ayrean Government, he never thought fit to share them with his subordinate chiefs.
[486] How far these stories were true I cannot say; as to the Picunches and their subjection to Cheoeque, the Valdivians had been detained over a year waiting for a safe-conduct, which was obtained on the eve of our arrival, and as far as could be afterwards ascertained, they passed unmolested, although probably suffering loss of cattle from the weather, as it was full late in the year to cross the passes, which during the winter are obstructed by snow and swollen rivers.
● 133 Antonio and Ventura Delgado assured me that they would have to cross one river seven times owing to its tortuous windings, and on every occasion be obliged to swim their animals. This I had first fancied to be a branch of the Rio Limay, but in answer to other inquiries the Valdivians stated that it flowed to the westward. *Apropos* of this
439 route, an enterprising German had some short time pre-
579 viously crossed from Valdivia to trade with the Indians; he was allowed to pass unmolested with all his merchandise, and drove a profitable trade, and at last started on his return journey with a goodly stock of horses and gear, but near the passes he was stripped of everything and left to make his
000 way homewards on foot if possible. It was very tantalizing to be so near Valdivia and not to be able to explore the route thither and visit the Picunches, and indeed Casimiro and myself had planned a trip from Las Manzanas, but it was abandoned, owing to the lateness of the season and

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T A 175 648

Indians forming a league and declaring war against the Spaniards, whose name up to the present they detest. Being obliged to abandon his intention of reaching Valdivia, Vallarino reluctantly determined to return, and accordingly after being supplied by his allies with a store of apples and piñones, descended the river and returned to Carmen.

T A 175 133

From the description of this journey, together with the mention of the supplies of apples and piñones obtained at the farthest point reached, I am inclined to assume that this point was near, if not identical with, the place where we passed the Limay on our journey to Las Manzanas, a mile or two below the rapids where Mr. Cox was wrecked.

Villarino states that he entered in his small boat a channel where the river flowed over rounded stones to the S.W. Now the point where Mr. Cox's boat was lost was a rapid to all appearance impassable for a boat: however, it is possible that Vallarino employed Indians on horseback to track his boat, and that the state of the river was more favourable for navigation at the period of his visit.

T A 175

The mention of the friendly Indians who accompanied him on his return and settled under the protection of the Spaniards, suggests the idea that these may have been the ancestors of Los Mansos or the Tame Indians, at present in the service of the Government. Casimiro had a legend about Indians friendly to the first Spanish settlers, who were subsequently ill-treated by them, and I believe revolted. Luiz Aguirre also asserted that his father was one of the original chiefs of the Rio Negro, who for a long time was friendly to the Spaniards, but at length, a revolt taking place, was imprisoned and kept in Carmen as a hostage, where he died. In the year 1832, when Rosas, for the protection of the southern frontier, made his great attack on the Indians, and driving them back to the neighbourhood of the Cordillera, forced them to submit to his terms, he established a military post at Choelechel, as advised by Villarino. His scheme was, I believe, to extend from this point a chain of forts as

3:Garcilaso de la Vega I-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
SE13 Inca
ARAUCANIANS 564

places they fell to the thickness of a yard, and in others more than two, the least thickness being a quarter of a yard.[1] The vineyards and fields of maize and wheat were buried, and the larger trees, whether bearing fruit or not, withered; while all the flocks perished for want of pasture. The sand that thus fell, covered the ground for an extent of more than thirty leagues round Arequipa. They found the cattle lying dead by five hundreds in one place, and many sheep, goats, and pigs were buried. The houses fell in from the weight of the sand, and those that stood were preserved by the diligence of their owners, in removing the sand from the roofs. The thunder and lightning was such that the storm was heard for a circuit of thirty leagues round Arequipa. The sun was so obscured by the clouds of dust that the people had to use candles in the middle of the day. They wrote accounts of these things that happened in Arequipa and in its neighbourhood, and I have set down a very brief summary of what I heard from Peru. It will suffice, because the historians who narrate the events of that period, will be bound to describe what took place in more detail.

726 The misfortunes of Chile shall also be shortly described, according to the accounts written from thence, because they are relevant to what has already been said touching those Arauco Indians and their deeds, arising out of the insurrection of 1553, which continues until this day, and we are now entering upon the year 1603. We know not when that war will end; for it seems to gather new vigour and force from

[133] [1] The formation of the coast region nearest to Arequipa consists of granite with veins of quartz. But the plains are covered with large patches of very fine dust, consisting chiefly of silica, containing potash and mica, with small quantities of the *débris* of the rocks associated with the soil. Admiral Fitzroy suggested that this dust may be the ashes ejected from the Misti (the Arequipa volcano) at some remote period. See my *Travels in Peru and India*, p. 71. The account of the irruption, given in the text, seems to account for the presence of these large patches of fine dust.